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## ‘Āina Ho‘opulapula: Hawaiian Homesteading

OVERSIGHT HEARINGS BY THE U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs in August 1989, under the chairmanship of Hawai‘i Senator Daniel Inouye, focussed new attention on the Hawaiian Home Lands Program. This and the imminent expiration of the original Hawaiian Home Lands 99-year leases within 30 years make it timely to review the original intent and goals of the Program, as envisioned by the Hawaiians who advocated for the ceded public lands to be set aside for exclusive homesteading by Native Hawaiians.<sup>1</sup>

### AHAHUI PU‘UHONUA O NĀ HAWAI‘I

On November 13, 1914, 200 Hawaiians attended a meeting at the Waikīkī residence of Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole (fig. 1 and fig. 2) and agreed to form the Ahahui Pu‘uhonua O Nā Hawai‘i (Hawaiian Protective Association), an organization which would work to uplift the Hawaiian people. U.S. Delegate to Congress Prince Kūhiō, together with Reverend Akaiko Akana, Reverend John Wise, Honolulu Mayor John Lane, and attorney Noa Webster Aluli, were selected to draft the constitution and by-laws of the organization. From 1914 through 1928, the organization published its own newspaper and attracted into its ranks Hawaiian political leaders who were interested in uplifting the Hawaiian

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FIG. 1. Prince Kūhiō in the "campaign suit" he wore when running for Congress and campaigning for the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. (AH photo collection.)

people through education, steady work, sobriety, and commercial enterprise. This was the organization that devised the plan to rehabilitate Hawaiians upon the ceded Crown and Hawaiian Kingdom lands under the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.<sup>2</sup>

The Ahahui Pu'uhonua was a political organization dedicated to social and educational work among the Hawaiian people in



FIG. 2. Prince Kūhiō in Washington. D.C., c. 1920. (AH photo collection.)

order to improve their conditions. The organization's newspaper of April 14, 1916 published its constitution, which articulated the organization's aims. The Ahahui Pu'uhonua planned to reclaim and uphold the traditional principles of good and just living of the Hawaiian race, such as: living as one with the land; in one spirit, one thought, one shoulder; and one in work under leaders and

chiefs. This unity had been broken through affiliations of Hawaiians with different religions, different political parties, and different organizations, and the Ahahui aimed to build the unity of the Hawaiian people in order to rebuild the strength of an enlightened Hawaiian race. The Ahahui Pu'uhonua stood ready to intercede in disputes, assist those who were confused, and provide relief and charitable funds in order to help restore stable and pleasant living conditions among the Hawaiians in the city. They also planned to promote the education and training of Hawaiians, particularly in commercial enterprises.<sup>3</sup>

To carry out its goals, the organization set up 12 standing committees to research problems raised by members, help members receive training and attain jobs in various fields of endeavor, promote good standards for healthy living, raise funds, lobby at the legislature, search for secure and sanitary living quarters for Hawaiians, conduct charitable volunteer work, and produce the newspaper.<sup>4</sup>

#### CONDITIONS OF 1918 MOTIVATED HAWAIIANS TO ORGANIZE

For the Hawaiian people, 1918 proved to be a critical year. After the United States had entered the war in Europe in 1917, shipping to and from Hawai'i was disrupted, and prices on staple food items, particularly fish and poi, almost doubled. This inflation caused a severe strain upon the poor urban Hawaiians living in tenements (cover photo) or squatter camps. In January of 1918, the Honolulu Ad Club, almost exclusively *haole* (Caucasian) in membership, began a public campaign to repair or demolish tenement buildings in Honolulu where many Hawaiians lived. Dr. L. L. Patterson, school health inspector, discussed reports with Hawaiian leaders about Hawaiian children who were mentally disabled because of lack of food, diseases which were rife in the tenements, and the general immoral atmosphere of the tenement districts.<sup>5</sup> These critical conditions motivated Hawaiian business and political leaders to work more actively for the betterment and uplifting of their people.

In November 1918, Prince Kūhiō, Rudolph Duncan, Jesse Uluihi, J. C. Lane, and Noa Aluli decided that it was necessary

to organize an “Ad Club” for Hawaiians which would draw together the leading middle to upper class Hawaiians to work on the tenement issue and to help gain support for a rehabilitation program. This initiative resulted in the founding of the Hawaiian Civic Clubs.<sup>6</sup> About 40 Hawaiians met at Honolulu’s Alexander Young Hotel in December 1918 and founded the organization. Judge William Heen was elected president, Reverend Akaiko Akana was elected vice-president, and Charles Marques and Joseph Ordenstein were chosen respectively as treasurer and secretary. The original purpose of the Hawaiian Civic Club was to create an open forum for Hawaiians to discuss and take action on matters of importance affecting the welfare of the Hawaiian people and to perpetuate the language, history, traditions, music, dances, and other cultural traditions of Hawai‘i. As it turned out, the first order of business for the clubs was the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.<sup>7</sup>

The Ahahui Pu‘uhonua itself continued its programs of education and social work. Through churches, letters, news articles, and home visits, members taught Hawaiians about the dangers of the congested and poor living conditions of the city, pointed out the advantages of the country and outdoor life, extolled the benefit of sanitary and hygienic living, explained the advantages of home economics, offered instruction in pre-natal care and the care of infants, and emphasized the value of saving money. The volunteers worked through special agencies to get as many Hawaiian students as possible to take up special training in agriculture, medicine, law, dentistry, and other skills and trades that would help uplift the race. They encouraged the Hawaiians to purchase or lease homestead lands to live upon and secure their food and other necessities of life. In Honolulu, they encouraged Hawaiians to purchase and own and never to sell their own homes.<sup>8</sup>

#### THE DECISION TO ATTRACT FEDERAL MONEY

The practical day-to-day work of the Ahahui Pu‘uhonua led its leaders to the conclusion that aggressive action was needed to arrest and reverse the decline of the Hawaiian people. Given the

association's experience in carrying out its work for nearly five years on a volunteer basis with limited funds, as well as the limited success of the Hawaiian business *hui* (associations, organizations), they decided the best channel for substantial and lasting results was to seek federal aid. They believed that such aid should not be in the form of charity but should enable the Hawaiians to become progressively self-supporting. In December 1918, the association's legislative committee finalized the draft of a "rehabilitation" resolution. They presented it to representative John Wise to introduce when the Territorial legislature would open in January 1919. By April 25, 1919, the Territorial House of Representatives passed the resolution, and John Wise was appointed to a Territorial Legislative Committee responsible for carrying the Territory's legislative package to the halls of Congress.<sup>9</sup> A letter circulated to U.S. Senators by Prince Kūhiō in 1920 described the intent and purpose for the federal rehabilitation bill:

The Hawaiian Race is fast becoming a minority element among the races of the Territory. The mortality rate among the Hawaiians is exceedingly high as compared to the other races and if conditions exist as they do today the Race will become extinct in a very short period of time.

After extensive investigation and survey on the part of various organizations organized for the purpose of rehabilitating the race, it was found that the only method in which to rehabilitate the race was to place them back upon the soil. The Hawaiians were a seafaring and agricultural people. Their entire life was spent in the outdoors. Civilization changed these conditions. The Hawaiians on account of their lack of business experience, and otherwise, were forced into the crowded tenements of the cities and towns and were subjected to all the evils of modern civilization. Disease and the change in their living conditions weakened their vitality to such an extent that today they are susceptible to all diseases, and their resistance being very low, the death rate is high. Under the provisions of this bill, by placing the Hawaiians upon the soil, away from the cities and towns, it is certain that they will again

retain their former vitality and in the course of years the race will increase, and become a majority element in the land of their birth.<sup>10</sup>

### THE HAWAIIAN HOMES COMMISSION ACT

The effort to pass the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act between December 1918 and July 1921 wove together the various strands of political issues which concerned the Native Hawaiian community during the first two decades of American rule after annexation. The campaign to win passage of the rehabilitation features of the Act culminated and focussed many of the political initiatives attempted by Hawaiians from 1900 through 1920. The bill in its final form embodied the types of political compromises that Hawaiians often found necessary to make in order to win concessions from the *haole* elite in Hawai‘i. Thus, an examination of the politics and issues behind passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act provides an important case study in Hawaiian politics of the period.

A major study of the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act contends that the Act was primarily a means of amending the basic land laws of the Territory, rather than a genuine humanitarian effort to rehabilitate the Hawaiians.<sup>11</sup> While this accurately characterizes the standpoint and motives of the *haole* elite and the Big Five (the five companies that controlled the political economy of the islands), with relation to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, it does not accurately reflect the intentions and the aspirations of the Native Hawaiian proponents of the bill.

The record shows that Hawaiians had consistently advocated for homesteading by Hawaiians since the Land Act of 1895 set up five methods of homesteading upon the former government and Crown lands by the general public.<sup>12</sup> Hawaiians had applied for and received homestead lands, individually and through homestead associations.<sup>13</sup>

Gradually, the general desire of Hawaiians to obtain land for homesteading evolved into an explicit demand to “rehabilitate” the Hawaiian people upon the Crown and Kingdom lands ceded

by the Republic of Hawai'i to the U.S. Five major factors gave impetus to the "back to the land rehabilitation" issue and transformed it from a general idea into a political action campaign.

Many of the plantation and ranch leases on the ceded public lands were due to expire beginning in 1918. Under the Organic Act, which served as the constitution for the Territorial government, lands could be withdrawn from plantation and ranch leases and opened for homesteading by any group of 25 citizens who petitioned for their homesteading. The public lands at Waiākea on Hawai'i Island were among the first of the public land leases to expire and be withdrawn from plantation use for homesteading by small independent farmers. From the perspective of the planters and the ranchers, quick and decisive action was required to prevent the withdrawal of additional public lands for homesteading. From the perspective of the Hawaiian leaders, the expiration of the leases presented them with a rare opportunity to repatriate those Crown and Kingdom lands to the Native Hawaiian people to homestead.

When shipping was interrupted during World War I, food shortages occurred, which in turn triggered the inflation of food prices, particularly the staples of poi and fish. This exacerbated the already destitute living conditions of Hawaiian tenement dwellers. The domination of the fishing industry by Japanese and of the poi industry by Chinese spotlighted the degree to which Hawaiians had been displaced from fishing and from the cultivation of the land. These circumstances added a sense of urgency to the program of returning Hawaiians to the land.

As the number of Japanese who were moving off the plantations into Honolulu grew, the competition for jobs and housing increased. After the failure of the 1920 sugar strike, there was a marked increase in the number of Japanese in Honolulu and in various sectors of the economy. This increased the economic pressure upon the Hawaiians in Honolulu.

Since Kūhiō had raised his charges against Governor Walter Frear in 1911 for blocking homesteading of the ceded public lands by Native Hawaiians, the disposition of the public lands had been a major source of conflict between the Hawaiians and the sugar planters. In seeking passage of a measure to set aside the Crown



and Kingdom lands for exclusive homesteading by Native Hawaiians, the contention between Hawaiian political leaders and the *haole* elite within the Republican Party shaped the final version of the bill.

#### DECLINE OF THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE

During the decade from 1910 to 1920, the number of pure Hawaiians had declined from 26,000 to 23,700. The life expectancy of Hawaiians was 30.2 years in 1910 and 35 years in 1920. The infant mortality rate was still 136 per 1,000 live births, compared to only 39 per 1,000 for Caucasians in 1925.

The number of Hawaiians living in Honolulu increased from 13,500 in 1910 to 17,500 in 1920. There they faced increasing competition from the Chinese and Japanese for jobs. In 1910, there were 9,600 Chinese in Honolulu, and by 1920 there were 13,400. The number of Japanese in Honolulu more than doubled, from 12,000 in 1910 to 24,500 in 1920.<sup>14</sup>

The destitute conditions of Hawaiians in Honolulu became the most important concern of Hawaiian leaders between 1910 and 1920 and gave rise to their demand to exclusively homestead the ceded public lands. These concerns were most clearly articulated in the speeches, petitions, and testimonies prepared to justify passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.

In a speech to Hawaiians in Kaka‘ako about the rehabilitation bill, Prince Kūhiō described some of the problems of poor Hawaiian families in Honolulu tenement districts and his hope to rehabilitate them by returning them to the land:

I introduced this bill to set aside for the Hawaiian people lands that originally belonged to the Hawaiians. We find that the people who live in the tenement houses in this city are nearly all Hawaiians. Maybe we will be able to get them to go back to the land and rehabilitate the race.

These Hawaiian families living in the tenements are poor, they do not own an inch of land in their own country. The majority of their children are feeble-minded, so the board of education experts tell us they are poor in mind, spirit and industry, because they live

in tenements. In the morning their mothers send them to the little Chinese coffee shops to buy coffee—I hate to think what kind of coffee they get there—poor bread and stinking butter. This is their food. How can they grow up robust and healthy and survive? That is why the race is fast dying out. These conditions stare the Hawaiian people in the face.<sup>15</sup>

#### INFLATED PRICES FOR FOOD

The burdens borne by Hawaiians who lived in Honolulu's tenements were aggravated by the inflation of food prices during World War I. In 1910, Hawaiians spent an average of 18.7 percent of their annual food expenses on poi, 4 percent on bread, 1.3 percent on rice, 16.08 percent on fresh fish, 4.4 percent on salt fish, 49 percent on meat foods, and 6.52 percent on other foods. While meat began to replace fish in the Hawaiian diet, poi was still a most important staple food.<sup>16</sup>

In 1917, the government declared meatless days for the duration of the war in order to help conserve the scarce amounts of meat, which was mainly shipped in from the Mainland. This automatically raised the price of fish by almost 100 percent. For example, fish that normally had sold for 20 cents a pound sold for 35 cents to 40 cents a pound. In these cases, the price was inflated by the market operator and not by the fishermen. Efforts by the Territorial legislature to fix the price of fish were thwarted by a Supreme Court ruling that it was unconstitutional for the legislature to place a ceiling on the price of food.<sup>17</sup>

Conditions in the poi industry paralleled that of the fishing industry. The growing of taro for sale and the manufacture of poi was dominated by the Chinese. Most of the Hawaiian taro farmers in the Islands were subsistence farmers, raising taro for consumption by their extended family households. It was the rice-eating Chinese who grew taro for sale rather than for consumption. Most of the poi mills in the Islands were owned by Chinese.

During World War I, prices for all food items went up. Taro was no exception. In April 1918, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* noted that the price of poi was climbing out of reach of the poor:

The price of poi has reached a figure which makes it an expensive dish and the supply to the Hawaiian family must be reduced in quantity, because he has not sufficient funds to purchase a normal supply.

Food fair price commissions were established to investigate the prices of basic necessary foods and to establish lower fixed prices where warranted. When the poi investigating committee held its hearings on costs of production and consumer prices, the poi manufacturers did not allow the investigators to examine their books. Poi inspector David Kanuha accused the manufacturers of withholding information in order to keep the prices high.<sup>19</sup>

In 1914, the selling price of a 100-pound bag of taro from the farmer to the poi mill was \$1.25; in 1915, it was \$1.16; in 1916, it was 62.5¢; but in 1917, it was \$1.15, and in the early part of 1918, it was \$2.05. These average prices included the costs of production, harvesting, hauling, freight, commission, and profit. Inspector Kanuha maintained that \$2.05 for a 100-pound bag in 1918 was too expensive. According to his survey of production costs among O‘ahu taro growers, a price of \$1.50 per bag to the manufacturer would cover production costs and allow for a profit of 50 cents. If the taro was priced at the amount proposed by Kanuha, the consumer would pay 25 cents for six pounds of poi.<sup>20</sup>

In November 1918, the Supreme Court ruled that the Territorial legislature did not have the power to set a maximum price for the sale of food through a commission. Although the fixing of food prices was to help alleviate the impact of the food shortages caused by the disruption of normal shipping during World War I, only the President of the United States, under the War Powers Act, could initiate a commission to fix prices.<sup>21</sup> Once this decision was announced, poi dealers raised the price of poi over the recently fixed price. The prices of rice and fish were also boosted.<sup>22</sup>

The inflated prices on the two basic foods of Hawaiians increased the hardships endured by the Native Hawaiians who lived in Honolulu tenements. These conditions warranted direct and immediate action to give Hawaiians access to the natural resources needed for their survival. They provided impetus to a

program of "rehabilitating" the Hawaiian people back to the soil where they could farm and fish to provide for their families' day-to-day needs.

#### COMPETITION FROM JAPANESE

The ability of Hawaiians to earn enough money to pay for food at inflated wartime prices or to escape the squalor of urban tenements was further impaired by competition from other groups, particularly the Japanese, for wage earning jobs. In July 1919, the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* reported on a meeting organized by the Hui Po'ola, a stevedores' union, to discuss how to drive the Chinese and Japanese stevedores out of the waterfront. According to the report, the membership expressed strong prejudices against their Japanese competitors:

'Drive the Japanese out,' Clarence L. Crabbe, superintendent of the Oceanic wharf at Pier 6, shouted. 'Today 80 percent of the laborers are Japanese and only 20 percent Hawaiians.'

D. K. Kaeao, aged 65 years, one of the oldest Poola men on the front, spoke for a rejuvenation of the old days, 'Then we had everything,' he said. 'Now, alas, we have nothing. Even our jobs are going away from us.'

Benjamin Wright of the Honolulu Iron Works declared the natives had lost their flag and their lands, and had nothing but their vote. And now the Japanese are coming in herds to take your jobs away.

Frank Archer said, 'This is our land. It belongs to us. Strangers have come here from the other side and have fattened on the land. When they get fat they go back. Everybody gets rich through the Hawaiians, and we are thrown out.'<sup>23</sup>

The increased competition from Japanese for jobs in Honolulu, especially on the docks, continued to be a major concern of the Hawaiians. It was linked to a concern that the industrious Japanese agriculturalist would also begin to compete for homestead lands that would be opened for general leasing to citizens if the Organic Act was not amended. This concern was used to

strengthen the arguments before U.S. Congressmen, who were highly sensitive to the issue of Japanese influence over Hawai‘i, for reserving a portion of the lands for the plantations and ranches and limiting homesteading to Hawaiians. In his testimony to the House Committee on Territories, John Wise described the competition from Japanese in the various trades. He shared his own experience with competition from Japanese in the carpentry trade in which he had been trained. The Japanese, who were willing to work for lower wages, had caused wages to be lowered across the board, leading many Hawaiian tradesmen to take up other occupations. Wise testified:

The Hawaiians went into the trades a good bit. I myself took up the profession of carpentering, but when the Japanese became so thick in the country and worked for a dollar and a dollar and a quarter a day, we had to give up our trades. We could not compete with them. I know of 12 carpenters, mechanics, to-day who are working on the water front as stevedores rather than go back to their own trade because they could not earn enough, and as was brought out this morning, all the Federal work is done by the Japanese and Chinese, not only in building, but in constructing roads. . . . A good many of our young people to-day are forced to take other trades than carpentry or mechanics simply because there is no opening for them. They could not compete with the Asiatics.<sup>24</sup>

Wise also testified that he did not think it was fair for the Hawaiians, for whom the King had held the crown lands in trust, to have to compete for homestead lands with the other nationalities, especially the Japanese. For example, at Waiākea, 50 percent of the lands was awarded to Hawaiians, while 15 percent was given to *haole*, 19 percent to Portuguese, 10 percent to Japanese, and the remaining 6 percent to others.<sup>25</sup> Wise further testified:

The only reason why the Crown lands were left was simply because King Kalakaua, the last monarchy, went to work and leased these lands under long-term leases, and these leases are now expiring or are about to expire. Now, to . . . allow these lands to be homesteaded by other nationalities, American citizens other than Hawaiians, does not seem fair to us. Mr. Japanese, who is

born in Hawaii, as soon as he is old enough, goes in and draws with the Hawaiians and gets a piece of land.<sup>26</sup>

Wise found a sympathetic audience in Congress for his expressed concerns about Japanese competition. In particular, representative Charles Curry of California, who served as chair of the House Committee on Territories, was known to be rabidly anti-Japanese.<sup>27</sup> The fear of domination of Hawai'i by the Japanese was one of the factors which won political support for the rehabilitation proposals presented to Congress by John Wise and Delegate Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole.

#### THE POLITICS BEHIND HAWAIIAN HOMESTEADING

In its original form as the Pu'uhonua Resolution, the bill, designated as Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2, was simple and direct. It laid out the primary concerns of the Ahahui Pu'uhonua O Nā Hawai'i with regard to the destitute conditions endured by Native Hawaiians in Honolulu's tenements and the rationale for setting aside a portion of the Crown lands and the Kingdom lands for Native Hawaiian homesteading. The final bill, which passed the U.S. Congress as the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, laid out a complicated set of definitions, methods, and policies to implement the Act and administer the lands which were set aside for Hawaiian homesteading. The final version reflected the compromises which the Hawaiian Republican leaders and members of the Ahahui Pu'uhonua O Nā Hawai'i had to accept and concede to in order for the bill to win support from the Big Five interests, who not only controlled Hawai'i's economy, but influenced deliberations on Hawai'i by the U.S. Congress.<sup>28</sup> Of major significance was the defining of Native Hawaiians as those with 50 percent or more Hawaiian ancestry and dedicating the first and second class agricultural lands for continued leasing by the plantations and ranches. Thus, contention between the Hawaiians and the *haole* elite within the Republican Party over the future use of the ceded public lands shaped the final version of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920. The original measure was worded as follows:

WHEREAS, the distribution of lands under the Kingdom of Hawaii, whereby the power to alienate the same has resulted in the loss to the Hawaiian people of a large part of their original birth-right so that the members of the race now constitute a large part of the floating population crowding into the congested tenement districts of the larger towns and cities of the Territory under conditions which will inevitably result in the extermination of the race; and

WHEREAS, members of the Hawaiian race or blood should be encouraged to return to the status of independent and contented tillers of the soil, preserving to posterity the valuable and sturdy traits of the race, peculiarly adapted to the islands comprising the Territory of Hawaii, inhabited and governed by peoples of their race and blood as their birthright for a long period of time prior to annexation with the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, there is now available or soon to become available large tracts of public lands under the control of the United States of America from which suitable areas could readily be set aside permanently as government lands subject to long term leases and renewals of leases for the encouragement of associations or colonies of individuals of Hawaiian blood for mutual growth and help to bring a rehabilitation of their race and to furnish an incentive for the preservation of the best characteristics of an independent citizenship of Hawaiian blood;

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: by the Senate of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, the House of Representatives concurring, that the Congress of the United States of America be respectfully petitioned herein to make such amendments to the Organic Act of the Territory of Hawaii, or by other provisions deemed proper in the premises, that from time to time there may be set aside suitable portions of the public lands of the Territory of Hawaii by allotments to or for associations, settlements, or individuals of Hawaiian blood in whole or in part, the fee simple title of such lands to remain in the government, but the use thereof to be available under such restrictions as to improvements, size of lots, occupation and otherwise as may be provided for said purposes by a commission duly authorized or otherwise giving preference rights in such homestead leases for the purposes hereof as may be deemed just and suitable by the Congress assembled;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this Reso-

lution be engrossed for presentation by the Delegate of the Territory of Hawaii to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, and the President of the United States.<sup>29</sup>

The Ahahui Pu‘uhonua O Nā Hawai‘i explained the rationale for their proposal in a “memorial” (memorandum) to Congress. It was a blend of traditional concepts about the intimate and interdependent relationship of Hawaiians with the land and modern notions about agricultural technology and capital investment:

There must be land legislation to enable the race to secure more land than it has in order to substantiate its earthly existence and to establish more than ever before, its rightful claim to the land of its birth. In addition to this project, capital must be furnished to enable the people to care for their lands in a fruitful manner. Experts in agriculture must be furnished them in order to guide the people’s agriculture activities along productive and progressive lines. . . .

The soil is a redeeming factor in the life of any race, and our plan for the rehabilitation of the Hawaiians is futile unless the question of returning to mother earth takes precedence to all other considerations in such a plan. . . . Therefore, the question of rehabilitation of the Hawaiian people, not only on the basis of education, but on their direct contact with mother earth, is paramount at this moment.

In so far as experience has proven and as much as science has revealed, physical health and vigor, the power to propagate the race, eradication of diseases, the restoration of normal domestic living conditions, the elimination of poverty and pauperism, the establishment of business relationship with the business world, the deepened appreciation of the soil and of the material wealth,—all of these benefits come, not by the fashionable [sic] life of this century, but, by the intimate acquaintance with the life and the possibilities of the soil.<sup>30</sup>

In his testimony on behalf of the Ahahui Pu‘uhonua, Reverend Akaiko Akana explained that the organization had come to the conclusion that the U.S. federal government was the most appropriate channel to seek assistance for aid in enabling the Hawaiian people to be independent and progressively self-supporting.<sup>31</sup> He



emphasized that the organization sought aid, not charity, to enable the Hawaiian people to help themselves. It proposed that training and guidance be provided to assist the Hawaiian people in acquiring business experience.

To secure their control over the public lands, the Big Five sponsored House Concurrent Resolution 28 (HCR 28) which was passed by the Territorial legislature of 1919. The resolution pointed out that 26,000 acres of highly cultivated public lands had not yet been sold to private holders and should be conserved and administered to promote the best interests and welfare of the Territory of Hawai‘i. It stated that in the land drawings for the Waiākea and Papa‘aloa homesteads there were 2,905 applicants for 261 lots. Many of the homesteaders who were entitled to take up homesteads were financially and otherwise unable to undertake the heavy financial and other responsibilities required for the cultivation of the lots.<sup>32</sup>

In order to properly administer the remaining cultivated lands, the amendment proposed to give the Governor and the Commissioner of Public Lands authority to exempt one-fifth of the land in any general lease of highly cultivated public lands from the homesteading requirement and to lease that portion at public auction for 15 years. It also proposed to authorize the Governor and the Commissioner of Public Lands to lease any arid public lands capable of being converted into agricultural lands by the development of underlying and/or contiguous waters for irrigation purposes. Such lands would be leased to a person, firm, or corporation for a sufficient length of time to induce the holder of the lease to invest capital for the development of the water resources for irrigation. These leases would be entirely exempt from withdrawal for homesteading. In addition, the amendment proposed to authorize the Commissioner of Public Lands to lease 1,000 acres of pasture land without submitting the same to the Board of Commissioners for Public Lands (the Land Board) for approval. Finally, the amendment proposed to authorize and empower the Governor, the Commissioner of Lands, and the Land Board to select homesteaders on the basis of the qualifications and abilities that they would determine, rather than to use the lottery system which had been in effect.<sup>33</sup>

Governor Charles J. McCarthy appointed a Territorial Legislative Commission of four to carry the concurrent resolutions to Congress for its approval. Appointed to this commission were Territorial Republican Senators Robert Shingle and John Wise and Republican Representatives William Rawlins and Norman Lyman. Senator Shingle, one of the leading Republicans in the Territory, was an advocate of changing the land laws. Senator John Wise was a Hawaiian politician, teacher, translator, minister, member of the *Ahahui Pu'uhonua O Nā Hawai'i*, and founder of the Hawaiian Civic Clubs. He had introduced the rehabilitation bill into the Territorial legislature. Representative Rawlins was an attorney and chairman of the Public Lands and Internal Improvements Committee. Representative Lyman was a part-Hawaiian homesteader from Hilo. Attorney General Harry Irwin was also assigned by the Governor to accompany the group.<sup>34</sup>

The Territorial Legislative Commission, as a group, had agreed to give priority to the passage of HCR 28. The hearings of the U.S. House Committee on the Territories were held on February 3, 4, 5, 7, and 10, 1920 in Washington, D.C. Nevertheless, John Wise, whose personal priority and mission was to gain support for HCR 2, was able to capture the attention and support of congressmen once he was given the opportunity to testify before the House Committee on Territories. Senator Wise played upon the prejudices of the American congressmen by portraying the Japanese as a threat to Hawaiians. He was also able to convince congressmen that the Hawaiian people had an historical claim to the Crown land portion of the ceded public lands.

However, Congress was also sympathetic to the issues raised by the Territorial Legislative Commission in relation to HCR 28. In particular, the members of the Committee on Territories were impressed by the high value of the expiring leaseholds and the potential loss of revenue to the Territory if the land was parceled out and sold as homesteads. The lands of Waiākea were cited as a case in point where the lands could have brought in \$3 million if sold on the open market or \$701,000 if re-leased to the Waiākea Mill. Instead, they were sold to homesteaders for \$54,000.<sup>35</sup>

Having heard the testimony of each of the members of the

Hawai‘i commission, as well as that of Delegate Kūhiō, the House committee urged the merging of the two resolutions into one measure. While there was initial resistance to this suggestion by the parties involved, all eventually agreed that the best way to gain Congressional support for their respective proposals was to merge the two resolutions together into one resolution, which became H.R. 12683. H.R. 12683 was introduced in Congress on February 21, 1920.

The basic thrust of H.R. 12683 was to set aside designated third and fourth class public agricultural lands for exclusive homesteading by persons of whole or part Hawaiian ancestry under the purview of a Hawaiian Homes Commission. The administration of these lands would be funded by leasing the first and second class agricultural public lands to the plantations and ranches for periods of up to 15 years. The fund would amount to \$1 million and would be used for loans and advancements to Hawaiian lessees of up to \$3,000 at an interest rate of 5 per cent per annum. Such loans were to be used for erecting dwellings and other farm improvements, including the purchase of livestock and farming implements. When implemented, H.R. 12683 would mean the demise of homesteading of the public lands by the general multi-ethnic public.<sup>36</sup>

When news of this compromise was carried in the Hawai‘i papers, the reaction against it was immediate and heated. On March 6, 1920, 1,000 people attended a rally at ‘A‘ala Park to protest H.R. 12683. The rally was led by Supervisor Jonah Kumalae, Representative Lorrin Andrews, Dr. J. H. Raymond, a physician from Maui, and Jessie Uluihi of the Ahahui Pu‘uhonua O Nā Hawai‘i. The rally authorized the organizers to send a cable to Washington, D.C., conveying their support for the general homesteading of the public lands and their opposition to H.R. 12683 which would effectively terminate homesteading by the general public. The cable read as follows:

Mass meeting of 1,200 voters of Honolulu protests the sale of leases of public lands to highest bidder. Mailing newspaper report. Legislative committee reported acting contrary to resolutions by legislature and citizens demanded public lands to be homesteaded.

Request that Congress defer action until arrival of appointed committee of citizens asking hearing of homesteading soon as transportation available, not later than May 20.<sup>37</sup>

Newspapers throughout the Islands, such as the *Daily Post-Herald*, the *Maui News*, the *New Freedom*, the *Garden Island*, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, criticized the resolution as a measure that would eliminate homesteading in favor of allowing public lands to be leased cheaply to the plantations and ranches. These newspapers also criticized the proposal to "rehabilitate" the Hawaiians on the third and fourth class agricultural lands that were listed in the bill. They felt that the "rehabilitation" plan, as designed, would reduce the Hawaiians to the status of the "blanket" American Indians on reservations while the plantations would end up with inexpensive leases on prime agricultural lands.<sup>38</sup>

The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* contended that prominent Hawaiian leaders also viewed the "rehabilitation scheme" as deceptive because Hawaiians would only be permitted to lease second-class agricultural land while first-class lands would be solely for the sugar planters. In support of this report, the Advertiser quoted Representative Jonah Kumalae as saying:

If they mean to do something great and good for the Hawaiians, why do they not provide for us to secure a fair portion of the highly cultivated government lands of the Territory? They don't do that; they fix it so we may get the second class lands, which nobody wants and which would only be good for raising goats, and Hawaiians are not good at goat-raising.<sup>39</sup>

On March 31, 1920, the Territorial Legislative Commission returned to Hawai'i and issued the following statement to explain its work in Washington and to answer some of the criticisms it expected to hear:

Senator Wise made such a strong presentation of his case . . . that his plan occupied the center of the stage almost to the exclusion of other matters of importance to Hawaii. . . . In preparing the bill for the rehabilitation plan it became apparent to everybody that if

the plan was to be a success a considerable sum of money would be required immediately for the purposes outlined in the bill. Your commission was much exercised over this phase of the question. . . . We finally decided that the only funds from which this needed money could be obtained was from the rentals derived from the government lands and water rights under the present law, and the bill was drafted accordingly. It must be here emphasized that the bill prepared and filed by your commission did not contemplate nor suggest the withdrawal of any of these highly cultivated public lands from homesteading, but expressly provided for such homesteading under the provisions of HCR 28.<sup>40</sup>

Once the members of the commission returned to Hawai‘i, those who had advocated the rehabilitation plan continued to discuss changes to the bill with those who had proposed withdrawing the highly cultivated lands from general homesteading. Their respective constituencies provided them with considerable input. These discussions resulted in the drafting of a new version of the homestead resolution—H.R. 13500 the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920.

With regard to homesteading, the new version would authorize the withholding of all public lands from homesteading. It empowered the Governor to withdraw any amount of land from homesteading, provided he gained support from two-thirds of the Land Board. Rather than have Congress decide whether to lease or homestead the cane lands, the Territorial government would be authorized to manage the public lands. The allocation of homesteads, however, would still be conducted by lottery. Selection on the basis of qualifications and capabilities was considered to be “un-American.”

With regard to the rehabilitation program, H.R. 13500 specified the lands which were to be granted to the Hawaiian homesteading project, and it eliminated the provision allowing for expansion of the program on additional lands. H.R. 13500 added 3,000 acres to the list of lands for Hawaiian homesteading. In addition, a blood quantum of 1/32nd Hawaiian blood was specified to qualify as a beneficiary of this Act, whereas the previous bill had defined the beneficiaries as anyone who had Hawaiian

ancestry. The duration of the leases was shortened from 999 years to 99 years. H.R. 13500 also described in greater detail the establishment and operations of the loan program for Hawaiian homesteading.

The U.S. House of Representatives passed this measure on May 22, 1920.<sup>41</sup> The report of the House Committee on Territories explained the basic rationale for establishing the rehabilitation program and laid out the basic policies to guide its operations. A review of this rationale and policy provides an insight on the sympathetic support for the measure within the U.S. House of Representatives at the time.

In citing the committees findings, as to the reasons why the program was needed, the Committee report quoted the testimony of John Wise and Franklin K. Lane, U.S. Secretary of Interior. Their testimonies explained the urgent need to restore Hawaiians to the land and the trust responsibility that the U.S. assumed toward the Hawaiian people:

Mr. WISE. . . . The Hawaiian people are a farming people and fishermen, out-of-door people, and when they were frozen out of their lands and driven into the cities they had to live in the cheapest places, tenements. That is one of the big reasons why the Hawaiian people are dying. Now, the only way to save them, I contend, is to take them back to the lands and give them the mode of living that their ancestors were accustomed to and in that way rehabilitate them. We are not only asking for justice in the matter of division of the lands, but we are asking that the great people of the United States should pause for one moment and, instead of giving all your help to Europe, give some help to the Hawaiians and see if you can not rehabilitate this noble people.

Secretary LANE. One thing that impressed me there was the fact that the natives of the islands, who are our wards, I should say, and for whom in a sense we are trustees, are falling off rapidly in numbers and many of them are in poverty. They never owned the land of the islands. The land was owned by the King originally, and they had in 1848 what they called a *mahele*, in which there was a division. As a result of that and legislation that passed subsequently, we have approximately 1,600,000 acres of public lands in the islands. . . .

In my judgement, from the limited knowledge I have of the history of the islands, those people, the natives, were not treated fairly in the division of the lands that was made in 1848. At any rate, they are a problem now and they ought to be cared for by being provided with homes out of the public lands; but homes that they could not mortgage and could not sell. They are a most lovable people a kindly people, and a generous people. They have arts of their own which endear them to the people who visit the islands. It is not altogether the beauty of the islands that attracts people there. It is the spirit that they see and the old civilization that they meet. There is a thriftlessness among those people that is characteristic among peoples that are raised under a communist or feudal system. They do not know what the competitive system is and they will get rid of property that is given them. They do not look forward. They can not see to-morrow. Therefore, they should be given as close identification with their country as is possible and yet be protected against their own thriftlessness and against the predatory nature of those who wish to take the land from them.<sup>42</sup>

By incorporating these testimonies into their report as background to the bill, the House Committee on Territories accepted the notion that the U.S. Congress had a trust responsibility to the Hawaiian people as wards. The Committee's report also recognized the special interest of the common Hawaiian people to a third of the lands of the Hawaiian kingdom:

But having been recognized as owners of a third interest in the lands of the kingdom, the common people, believing that in the future means were to be adopted to place them in full possession of these lands, assumed that the residue was being held in trust by the Crown for their benefit. However, the lands were never conveyed to the common people and, after a successful revolution, were arbitrarily seized, and by an article in the Hawaiian constitution became the public lands of the Republic of Hawaii.<sup>43</sup>

The Committee report outlined four policies for homesteading the public lands of the Territory of Hawai'i. The Hawaiian was to be placed upon the land in order to insure his rehabilitation. The alienation of such land must, not only in the immediate future but also for many years to come, be made impossible. Accessible



water in adequate amounts must be provided for all tracts. The Hawaiian must be financially aided until his farming operations were well underway.<sup>44</sup>

The U.S. Senate did not take as supportive and sympathetic a position as the House on H.C.R 13500. It was more readily influenced by the Hawai'i Chamber of Commerce and the lobbyist for the Hawai'i Sugar Planters Association who indicated that they did not fully support the resolution as drafted and needed more time to work on the measure. Thus, the bill was held in the Senate Committee on Territories.<sup>45</sup>

The pending passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act became a major issue during the 1920 election campaign. In that campaign, the Republican Party did not endorse the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. This reflected the lack of support for the measure from the Big Five interests. It also indicated that Hawaiian politicians within the Republican Party lacked the power to influence the party's program to serve their interests. The Democrats, whose political base of influence was among the multi-ethnic voters who supported general homesteading of the public lands, also did not endorse the Act. Their candidate for Delegate to Congress, Lincoln McCandless, pledged his opposition to the program.<sup>46</sup>

Upon his return home, Prince Kūhiō found himself in the position of having to defend the contents of the rehabilitation bill to his constituents during his re-election campaign. In particular, he had to explain why he had listed the worst of the public lands for homesteading by Hawaiians, while the plantations and ranches would be allowed to lease the finest of the former Crown and Kingdom lands. In an address before the Hawaiian Civic Club in June 1920, Kūhiō presented his rationale for selecting the lands which were listed in the bill. Not only did he feel that the lands selected for Hawaiian homesteading would be good for diversified agriculture and enterprise, he also believed that Congress would not support the homesteading of prime agricultural lands. Part of the thinking behind the homesteading program on the Mainland was to have Americans settle on empty land worth nothing and transform it into farmland through hard work:



Much has been said that the Hawaiians are not getting the best lands. I have told the committee that they don't want the sugar lands, but the lands on which they can diversify the industries. This bill provides for means to educate the people, to tell you what best to plant on certain lands, and where cattle and hogs can be best raised and so on. . . .

I want to tell you that Congress does not believe and never will believe as a policy in homesteading land worth from \$500 to \$1,000 an acre. That is not the American way. What made the American people great was the work of its pioneers in developing that which was worth nothing.

Too many Hawaiians have said in effect: 'Give us the best land you've got, give us all the money you can, feed us on poi and fish, and we'll be happy.' I want to tell you that you never will succeed unless you get out and hustle.<sup>47</sup>

In September, while campaigning in Kaka‘ako, Prince Kūhiō again answered criticisms which had been directed against the rehabilitation bill. He explained that the bill was an opportunity to give the poor Hawaiian some land, that he could never get Congress to take away cane lands for the Hawaiian people, and that rather than kill homesteading, the bill would support the efforts of Hawaiians to homestead. He said:

This rehabilitation bill is the first opportunity given the poor man to go on the land with funds to help him make a living. . . . They say that the lands to be set aside under this bill are no good. If I were to attempt in Congress to take away cane lands for the Hawaiian people there would be a terrible row; one would never hear the last about. They say the bill will kill homesteading. Nothing of the kind. The money from the first-class agricultural lands will go to supporting the Hawaiians on the other lands. . . . This will save the Hawaiian people from being a dead race.<sup>48</sup>

In the third session of the 66th Congress, new hearings on H.R. 13500 were convened on December 14, 1920. During the course of these hearings, planter and ranching interests appeared before the Committee to testify against the Hawaiian Homes

Commission program. They questioned the constitutionality of limiting the homesteading of public lands in Hawai'i to Native Hawaiians. They also questioned the potential for the program to succeed, given the poor quality of the lands that were to be set aside for homesteading. Reverend Akana and John Wise traveled to Washington to counteract the opposition and to lobby for support of the Hawaiian Homes Commission program. Again, the bill did not pass Congress.

On April 11, 1921, Delegate Kūhiō addressed the Territorial legislature and presented a report on his work to pass the Hawaiian rehabilitation bill. Delegate Kūhiō emphasized how Congress had, in the course of discussing H.R. 13500, taken a clear and definite position to oppose the homesteading of the public sugar lands by the general public or by the Native Hawaiians. The rehabilitation bill could not, therefore, turn over those lands for homesteading:

The fact was that the House Committee was opposed to homesteading developed cane lands. This position had found definite expression in an earlier committee draft of this same bill. The earlier draft prohibited all homesteading of sugar lands, on the theory that the distribution to a few among thousands of applicants of land worth from \$500 to \$1,000 an acre did not constitute 'homesteading.' Here lies the answer to much of the criticism that has been directed against me and this Bill. We could not 'give the Hawaiians' sugar lands because the national Congress desired that the highly developed lands be withheld from homesteading. The whole idea and purpose of the Committee was to lease the richer sugar lands, using a portion of the income to carry out the rehabilitation scheme, the balance to be used by the Territory for the benefit of all the people.<sup>49</sup>

Kūhiō also shared the contents of a letter he had received from Senator Harry S. New of Indiana, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Territories. New's letter explained his reservations about the bill, which according to Kūhiō would have to be addressed in amendments to H.R. 13500 in order for it to pass the U.S. Senate. New questioned the constitutionality of the resolution on the grounds that it would tax one element of the popula-

tion of Hawai‘i for the exclusive benefit of another. He objected to extending the benefits of the Act to those of one thirty-second Hawaiian blood. He felt that it should be limited to full-blooded Hawaiians. He also had reservations about the effectiveness of a rehabilitation program for the limited number of homesteaders who would be accommodated during the initial phases of implementing the program.<sup>50</sup>

In a move calculated to get the support of the planter interests, John Wise introduced a concurrent resolution in the Territorial legislature to authorize the Governor to extend any expired sugar leases until such time as Congress acted to accept or reject the rehabilitation bill. It passed the legislature on April 13, 1921.<sup>51</sup> Then, a few days later, on April 14, 1921, a meeting was held in the Governor’s office to discuss new amendments to H.C.R. 13500 which would address congressional concerns outlined by Kūhiō in his report to the legislature. A second meeting was called later that day, at the home of Delegate Kūhiō (fig. 3), to finalize the compromises which would be incorporated into proposed amendments. The participants in these negotiations were Governor McCarthy, Delegate Kūhiō, and Territorial legislators John Wise, Charles Rice, Harold Rice, Harry Baldwin, and Charles Chillingworth.<sup>52</sup>

There were four major issues which had to be resolved before the Big Five and Congress would support the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. These issues were discussed and amendments proposed in Territorial Senate Concurrent Resolution 8, which was introduced into the Territorial legislature by John Wise.<sup>53</sup> A blood quantum for qualified Hawaiian applicants had to be set. The first version of the resolution made anyone of Hawaiian ancestry eligible to apply for a Hawaiian Homestead. The third version specified that Hawaiians of 1/32nd Hawaiian ancestry could benefit from the Act. The final proposal established Hawaiians of one-half Hawaiian ancestry or more as beneficiaries of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.

The Big Five wanted a trial period of five years to demonstrate that the program would work before setting aside all of the listed lands for homesteading. The Hawaiian proponents of the bill agreed to establish the first homesteading program on Moloka‘i



FIG. 3. Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole and Princess Elizabeth Kahuna Kaʻauwai Kalanianaʻole, at their Waikīkī residence. (AH photo collection.)

for a period of five years, after which time the U.S. Congress could evaluate the program and extend and expand the program to other listed land areas. The Big Five also wanted the size of the homesteads to be limited. It was agreed that: agricultural lots (for cultivation) would be between 20 and 80 acres in size; first class pastoral lots (for grazing of animals) would be between 100 and 500 acres in size; and second class pastoral lots would be between 250 and 1,000 acres in size. The section of the Organic Act prohibiting corporations from holding and acquiring of real estate in excess of 1,000 acres was to be repealed.

While the Territorial Senate passed S.C.R. 8 with little debate, the Territorial House debated the issue for two days. On the second day, Governor McCarthy was invited to speak in favor of the measure. In response to charges that the Moloka‘i lands were unsuitable for Hawaiian homesteading, he reported that pineapple companies had indicated an interest in assisting the Hawaiians in planting, cultivating, and growing pineapples. In response to the charge that the measure would increase taxes, he pointed out that homesteading of cane lands, by the general public under existing laws, would only benefit 250 persons and the rest of the population would still have to pay high taxes. He admitted to having personal reservations about the ability of the rehabilitation program to succeed, but he felt that if it were given a chance and proved successful it would be the best thing that could possibly happen for Hawaiians and the Territory as a whole.<sup>54</sup>

Many of the Hawaiian Territorial legislators still felt that it was unfair to give the Hawaiians the poorest of the public lands for homesteading. They considered the measure to be a “sell out.” In order for the concurrent resolution to pass, three amendments were included. The number of Commissioners of Hawaiian ancestry, instead of two, was increased to three of the four members of the Hawaiian Homes Commission. The amount of land set aside for the Moloka‘i experimental farms as well as the overall amount of land to be set aside for the Hawaiian Homes Commission was increased.<sup>55</sup>

Once these compromises were worked out, the Big Five agreed to support passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920. Delegate Kūhiō introduced the revised version of the measure in the U.S. Congress as H.R. 6207 and S.R. 1881, on May 25,

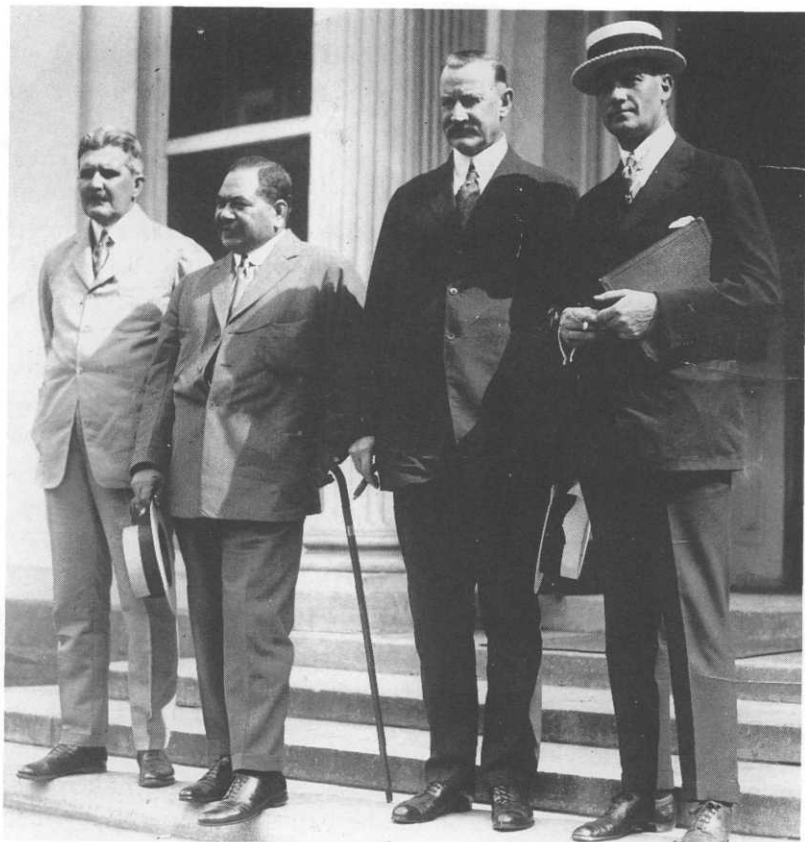


FIG. 4. Territorial delegation, on the White House steps, calling on President Harding on May 21, 1921, just before final passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act: (left to right) Territorial Senator Charles F. Chillingworth, Prince Kūhiō, sugar expert Albert Horner, and businessman Walter F. Dillingham. (AH photo collection.)

1921 (fig. 4).<sup>56</sup> Finally, on July 9, 1921, S.R 1881 passed both houses of Congress and was signed into law.

#### SUMMARY: 'ĀINA HO'OPULAPULA

The U.S. Congress had set aside close to 200,000 acres of former Crown and Kingdom lands for exclusive homesteading by Hawaiians of at least half Hawaiian ancestry. The lands would be

parcelled out for homesteading under 99-year leases at a charge of \$1 per year. A Hawaiian Homes Commission, consisting of the Governor and four others (of whom three were to be Native Hawaiian), would administer the homesteading program. The remaining Crown and Kingdom lands would be leased out for agricultural purposes through auctions to the highest bidder. The monies received from the leases were to go into a fund, ultimately to total \$1 million, to assist in the implementation of the program. Loans of \$3,000 would be granted to Hawaiian homesteaders at 5 percent interest for the construction of dwellings and farm structures and the purchase of farm implements and seed.

Albert Horner, sugar expert for the Territory of Hawai‘i at the time that the rehabilitation bill was designed, compiled a list and description of the lands designated for Hawaiian homesteading (see Appendix). He was a strong advocate for general homesteading of the public lands and opposed the rehabilitation Act because it did not set aside lands best suited for homesteading by Hawaiians but instead dedicated the best agricultural lands for lease by the sugar plantations and ranches. In a letter to Governor McCarthy explaining his position, Horner wrote:

I believe in the Bill, but I do not believe it is possible to successfully operate it under the lands selected. The Prince and I are without any doubt working with the same end in view, but we differ in the method of accomplishment as I believe the lands covered by the Rehabilitation Bill should be such as to make it impossible for homesteading to fail rather than lands which make it possible for homesteading to succeed.<sup>57</sup>

In reviewing this list and description of the lands set aside for Hawaiians to homestead, the charges of “sell out” and “conspiracy by the sugar planters” can be better understood. It also reveals why Hawaiian homesteaders who settled upon these lands experienced so many problems in making the land productive. Almost all of the lands lacked water for irrigation or domestic use. Most of the lands were rough, rocky, and dry. Barren lava covered 55,000 acres. Another 7,800 acres were the steep parts of mountains.

The process of drafting, introducing, and amending the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act reflected the ongoing contention between the Hawaiians and the *haole* elite. In this, the balance of influence clearly rested with the *haole* elite. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was typical of the types of concessions won by the Hawaiians for their participation in electoral politics. In 1920, the Hawaiians comprised two-thirds of the voters. Given this leverage, they were able to gain many concessions. While the concessions provided certain material benefits and advantages to the Hawaiian people, they were also manipulated by the Big Five to gain support for their own economic interests.

In the case of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, Hawaiian political leaders had to support the Big Five's efforts to preserve the public lands for leasing by the plantations and ranches in order to gain support for the exclusive homesteading of selected lands by Native Hawaiians. Moreover, they had to settle for the poorest lands and for a limited definition by which Hawaiians could qualify for benefits under the Act.

On January 7, 1922, six months after he had succeeded in having the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act passed, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole passed away. His death left a vacuum in the leadership of the Hawaiian politicians. No other individual enjoyed the respect and the popular support that Prince Kūhiō had commanded.

Henry A. "Harry" Baldwin was elected in a special election to serve the unexpired term of Prince Kūhiō, through November of 1922. In 1922, William P. Jarrett, a Hawaiian who was a Democrat, was elected as Delegate to Congress. In 1926, the Republicans made a comeback by running a part-Hawaiian for delegate—Victor K. Houston. He served as Delegate until he was defeated in 1932 by longtime Democratic candidate for delegate, Lincoln Loy McCandless.<sup>58</sup>

Given that the Hawaiian Home Lands Program was only approved on a trial basis for five years, the Hawaiian leaders who had advocated its establishment had to work hard to assure the success of the initial phase of the program. By 1926, the trial period was successfully completed, and Congress gave approval for the program to be expanded to the entire 200,000 acres which



had been set aside under the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act on a permanent basis.<sup>59</sup>

Of growing concern to Hawaiian political leaders of the 1930s and 1940s, however, was the declining proportion of votes controlled by Native Hawaiians. In 1920, Hawaiians made up 55.6 percent of the voters, but, by 1930, Hawaiians comprised only 38 percent of the electorate. The greatest threat to Hawaiian dominance in electoral politics was the increasing number of Asian voters. In 1920, the Chinese and Japanese had made up only 7 percent of the voters, but by 1930, they comprised 22 percent of the electorate.<sup>60</sup> This changing balance of political influence led the Hawaiian politicians into greater cooperation with the *haole* elite in the Republican Party so as not to lose their standing.

The men who were Kūhiō's contemporaries in the Aha Hui Pu‘uhonua O Nā Hawai‘i concentrated their efforts on implementing the Hawaiian Home Lands Program during the five-year experimental period and thereafter. A new generation of Hawaiian leaders, however, gradually moved into political office. Kūhiō and his allies were born under the Hawaiian Monarchy, had risked their lives to restore the Monarchy in 1895, and had served time at hard labor in the Republic's prisons. They had continued to maintain an adversarial and competitive relationship to the *haole* elite. The new generation, however, had been educated in private and public schools under the American system where they were trained to accept assimilationist attitudes and Western values. Thus, the passing of Kūhiō also marked the beginning of a new period of cooperation and collaboration between part-Hawaiians and the *haole* elite during which the balance of political influence was tilted in favor of the *haole* elite.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This article is based upon two chapters from Davianna Pōmaika‘i McGregor, "Kupa‘a I Ka ‘Āina: Persistence On The Land," diss., U of Hawai‘i, 1989.

<sup>2</sup> PCA, 13 Nov. 1914.

<sup>3</sup> Ka Pu‘uhonua O Nā Hawai‘i, 14 Apr. 1916, Hamilton Library, U of Hawai‘i.

<sup>4</sup> Ka Pu‘uhonua O Nā Hawai‘i, 14 Apr. 1916.

<sup>5</sup> PCA, 22 May 1918.

<sup>6</sup> PP, 67 (Annual 1955): 95–6. Noa Webster Aluli, Annual Report to the Trustees

of the Ahahui Pu'uhonua for Nov. 1918 through Dec. 1919, Delegate Kalaniana'ole Letters and Miscellaneous File (P), AH.

- <sup>7</sup> Aluli, Delegate Kalaniana'ole Letters and Miscellaneous File (P).
- <sup>8</sup> Testimony of Rev. Akaiko Akana in U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Territories, *Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, Hearings Before the Committee on Territories, United States Senate 66th Congress, 3rd Session on H.R. 13500. A Bill to Amend an Act Entitled An Act to Provide a Government for the Territory of Hawaii, Approved April 30, 1900, As Amended to Establish An Hawaiian Homes Commission And For Other Purposes*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921) 46. Hereafter referred to as Hearings, Hawaiian Homes Commission Act 1920; hereafter referred to, also, as GPO.
- <sup>9</sup> Hearings, Hawaiian Homes Commission Act 1920, 48; Aluli, Delegate Kalaniana'ole Letters and Miscellaneous File (P).
- <sup>10</sup> Aluli, Delegate Kalaniana'ole Letters and Miscellaneous File (P).
- <sup>11</sup> Marylyn Vause, "The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920: History and Analysis," thesis, U of Hawai'i, 1962.
- <sup>12</sup> U.S. Congress, 56th Congress, 1st Session, House Committee on the Territories, "Government for the Territory of Hawaii," *Report No. 305 to Accompany H.R. 2972*, Feb. 12, 1900 (Washington: GPO, 1900) 65-6 and 105-07.
- <sup>13</sup> Hawaii (Territory) Governor, *Report to the Secretary of Interior, 1911* (Washington: GPO, 1911) 53, reported that by 1911, 1,156 Hawaiians had received homesteads since the passage of the 1895 Land Act. They received a total of 30,800 acres valued at \$150,513. The average lot size was 26.67 acres valued at \$4.88 per acre. 466 "Americans" (U.S. citizens of Caucasian ancestry) had received 26,900 acres. The average area per lot was 58 acres valued at \$9.23 an acre. 531 Portuguese received lots averaging 35 acres in size and valued at \$8.72 per acre. Another source reported that from 1912 through 1918, 827 more Hawaiians took out homesteads. During the same period, 237 Americans, 420 Portuguese, and 41 Japanese were awarded homesteads: Statement of Hon. William T. Rawlins, member of the Hawaiian Legislative Commission, and Chairman of the Public Lands Committee of the Hawaiian House of Representatives, in *Proposed Amendments to the Organic Act of the Territory of Hawaii, Hearings Before the Committee on the Territories, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 2nd Session, February 3, 4, 5, 7, and 10, 1920* (Washington: GPO, 1920) 188.
- <sup>14</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *15th Census of the United States: 1930, Population Second Series, Hawaii: Composition and Characteristics of the Population and Unemployment* (Washington: GPO, 1931) 48, table 2.
- <sup>15</sup> PCA, 24 Sept. 1920.
- <sup>16</sup> U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Fourth Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawai'i, 1910* (Washington: GPO, 1910) 45.
- <sup>17</sup> Donald Johnson, "Joseph James Fern, Honolulu's First Mayor," *HJH* 9 (1975): 92.
- <sup>18</sup> PCA, 5 Apr. 1918.
- <sup>19</sup> PCA, 30 Sept. 1918; an editorial in the *Nupepa Ku'oko'a*, 13 Sept. 1918, commented on the problem of a shortage of poi and hoped that the commission on

fair prices which had already conducted meetings on the issue would come up with a plan to alleviate the problem.

<sup>20</sup> PCA, 30 Sept. 1918.

<sup>21</sup> PCA, 1 Nov. 1918.

<sup>22</sup> PCA, 2 Nov. 1918.

<sup>23</sup> HSB, 4 July 1919.

<sup>24</sup> Testimony of John Wise, Hearings, Hawaiian Homes Commission Act 1920: 70.

<sup>25</sup> William Goodale, "An Experiment in Homesteading," Honolulu Social Science Association, Nov. 2, 1925.

<sup>26</sup> William Goodale, "An Experiment in Homesteading" 161-2.

<sup>27</sup> Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act" 46-51.

<sup>28</sup> The Big Five interests included interlocking elite *haole* families who owned controlling interests in Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, C. Brewer, Theo H. Davies, and American Factors (formerly Hackfeld & Co., renamed during World War I).

<sup>29</sup> Statement by the Legislative Commission of Hawai'i in Support of a Bill Providing for the Setting Apart of Portions of the Public Lands of the Territory of Hawai'i for Use by Hawaiian Citizens of Hawaiian Blood, Honolulu, Jan. 1, 1920, Delegate Kalaniana'ole File on Rehabilitation, AH.

<sup>30</sup> Memorial to Congress from the Ahahui Pu'uhonua O Nā Hawai'i, Delegate Kalaniana'ole File, AH.

<sup>31</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, *Committee on Territories* (Washington: GPO, 1921) 48, Hamilton Library, U of Hawai'i.

<sup>32</sup> HCR 28, in Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act," Appendix III: 157.

<sup>33</sup> HCR 28, in Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act," Appendix III: 157.

<sup>34</sup> Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act" 35-6.

<sup>35</sup> Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act" 52; HA, 27 Dec. 1926.

<sup>36</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Committee on the Territories*, February 3, 4, 5, 7, and 10, 1920 (Washington: GPO 1920), Appendix B: 314-20.

<sup>37</sup> HSB, 17 Mar. 1920: 14; *Nupepa Ku'oko'a*, 12 Mar. 1920, also reported on the mass meeting at 'A'ala Park where views opposing the the work of the Washington Commission regarding the public lands were heard, and Kumalae, Andrews, and Raymond were appointed to form a committee to convey the opposing views to Congress.

<sup>38</sup> Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act" 57-66.

<sup>39</sup> PCA, 14 Mar. 1920.

<sup>40</sup> HSB, 31 Mar. 1920.

<sup>41</sup> Report of Delegate Kalaniana'ole to the Territorial Legislature of Hawai'i, Delegate Kalaniana'ole File on Rehabilitation, AH.

<sup>42</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Committee on Territories*, 66th Congress 2nd Session, Report No. 839: 4, Delegate Kalaniana'ole File on Rehabilitation, AH.

<sup>43</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Committee on Territories*, Report No. 839: 5. Prince Kūhiō

Kalanianaʻole analyzed the Crown lands as having been held in trust for the common people by the Monarchy, *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, 21 (Feb. 1921): 126.

- <sup>44</sup> U. S. Congress, House, *Committee on Territories, Report No. 839*: 7.
- <sup>45</sup> Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act" 75-8.
- <sup>46</sup> Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act" 80-1.
- <sup>47</sup> *PCA*, 26 June 1920.
- <sup>48</sup> *PCA*, 24 Sept. 1920. *Nuʻpepa Kuʻokoʻa* covered both sides of the issue: 9 and 23 July, 13 Aug., and 1 Oct. 1920.
- <sup>49</sup> Report of Delegate Kalanianaʻole to the Territorial Legislature of Hawaiʻi; also in *PCA*, 12 Apr. 1921.
- <sup>50</sup> Report of Delegate Kalanianaʻole to the Territorial Legislature of Hawaiʻi.
- <sup>51</sup> *PCA*, 13 Apr. 1921; *HSB*, 11 Apr. 1921.
- <sup>52</sup> Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act" 85-7.
- <sup>53</sup> *PCA*, 17 Apr. 1921, reported the contents of S.C.R. 8.
- <sup>54</sup> *PCA*, 23 Apr. 1921; *HSB*, 23 Apr. 1921.
- <sup>55</sup> Marylyn Vause, "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act" 90.
- <sup>56</sup> *PCA*, 26 May 1921.
- <sup>57</sup> Albert Horner, letter to Governor Charles J. McCarthy, 14 Feb. 1921, Delegate Kalanianaʻole File on Rehabilitation, AH.
- <sup>58</sup> Richard Wisniewske, ed. *Hawaii: The Territorial Years, 1900-1959: A Pictorial History* (Honolulu: Pacific Printers, 1984), Appendix B: 119.
- <sup>59</sup> Felix Keesing, *Hawaiian Homesteading on Molokai*, U of Hawaii Research Publications, Vol. I, no. 3, Jan. 1936: 7-9.
- <sup>60</sup> Hawaiʻi, Governor of the Territory of Hawaiʻi, *Report to the Secretary of Interior, 1931* (Washington: GPO, 1931) 14.

APPENDIX  
DESCRIPTION OF LANDS CHOSEN FOR HOMESTEADING  
UNDER HAWAIIAN HOME ACT\*

ISLAND	ACREAGE	LAND POTENTIAL
<u>Hawai‘i</u>		
Kamā‘oa-Puueo	11,000	Useful for grazing only for a few months a year. No water for domestic use.
Pu‘ukapu	1,200	Land adjacent to site where a Hawaiian rehabilitation project had been attempted and had failed. Most suitable of available lands for homesteading.
Kawaihae I	10,000	Same as Kamā‘oa, except less soil covering rocks.
Pauahi	750	Same as above.
Kamoku-Kapulena-Nienie	12,350	Third class agricultural in part, and balance second class pasture. Water for domestic use would have to be piped in some miles.
Humu‘ula	53,000	Fourth class grazing; no water supply; beyond reach of water; almost entirely lava waste with no agricultural land.
Pi‘ihonua	2,000	Second class agricultural; annual rainfall 250 inches.
Ka‘ohe-Maku‘u	2,000	Rocky, almost solid lava; fertile soil, well situated for fishing.
<u>Kaua‘i</u>		
Upper Waimea	15,000	Third class grazing; valueless without fattening lands, rough, rocky, very dry; could produce crops if \$1 million spent to bring water.

\*Albert Horner, letter to Governor Charles J. McCarthy, 14 Feb. 1921, Delegate Kalanianaʻole File on Rehabilitation, AH.

APPENDIX—*Cont'd*

ISLAND	ACREAGE	LAND POTENTIAL
Moloa'a	2,500	No agricultural or grazing lands.
Anahola & Kamalomalo	5,000	Second class agricultural land; would require irrigation; large part planted to cane and irrigated.
<u>Mau</u>		
Kahikinui	25,000	Third class grazing when held in large tracts; most of land can be grazed only few months of year due to frequent dry spells; steep and rocky.
Kula	6,000	Second class agricultural land; crops can be expected one year out of three.
<u>Moloka'i</u>		
Pala'au	11,400	With irrigation would produce abundant crops, without water is poor grazing land; irrigation project estimated to cost \$2 million.
Kapa'akea	2,000	Steep part of mountain; worthless for agriculture
Kamiloloa I and II	3,600	Same.
Makakupa'ia	2,200	Same.
Kalama'ula	6,000	Upper half, second class agricultural land; lower same as Pala'au.
<u>O'ahu</u>		
Nānākuli	3,000	Rough, rocky, dry; no value except for its proximity to sea, and fishing rights.
Lualualei	2,000	Same.
Waimānalo	4,000	Second class agricultural or cane lands, with water might be first class.